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planation to the rest of the world, or, if she did give explanation, did not need to have that explanation accepted. She, in regard to her army, as in the case of England and her navy, could talk vaguely of dangers here and dangers there; could find other dangers in the hostility or preparations for hostility of other nations. She had no better explanation from them as to what they were about than did they from her. All this under such a system as outlined above would be impossible, for interference would come not at a point where the offending nation did not much care whether the hat dropped or not, but practically at the inception of the nation's intention to exploit its neighbors.

It has been claimed that limitation of armaments is unworkable because there is no means of determining what the actual military equipment of a nation is and what are its actual advances, through inventive skill, in the preparation of engines of destruction. In answer to this, it can only be stated that, with the increasing ease with which intelligence is spread abroad in these days, only by the most unusual means could engines of war of any appreciable strength be manufactured unknown to the rest of the world. Furthermore, it must be remembered that such engines of war as Germany had prepared unknown to the rest of the world were prepared only because a condition was accepted in which there were no limits to such construction, and consequently no great international curiosity as to Germany's activities in that direction. Ostensibly preparing only for defense and to preserve the peace, but on a scale which it is to be hoped must be impossible in the future, Germany was able to conceal much of its preparation in the midst of a huge military machine which was allowed by the nations to operate because they themselves had no organization through which to protest and no precedents or criteria for such protest up to the point when Germany might actually declare war. Granted armaments of which the whole world approves, and granted that the preparation of these armaments are everywhere known and understood, no nation under heaven could surreptitiously add to these sufficient engines of destruction and sufficient organization to employ them effectively to imperil any other nation. The very fact that there were indications of some such great secret undertaking on foot in any country would be sufficient reason for any neighbor nation to place its complaint before the world tribunal.

The theory of this plan of limitation of armaments is a very simple one. It is that, so long as one person or one nation knows what another intends and is satisfied as to those intentions, it need not worry, and will not worry, over what weapons that other may possess. So long as a nation's or a person's actions coincide with its declared purposes, that is sufficient. And when they seem to be no longer coincident, there should be, and in the event of an international agreement would be, means for a calm and equitable inquiry into and decision upon the matter and a consequent forestalling of any possible evil intent. In national armaments mutually acceptable to all the nations lies a hope that is impossible at present in either partial or total disarmament. Furthermore, it is not difficult to perceive that if any pathway lead to the abolishment of armaments, it is the path of frank avowal of the purpose of armaments by all nations maintaining them.

PATRIOTIC INTERNATIONALISM VS. OBSTRUCTIONISM.

By JULIA GRACE WALES

IN ORDER to promote national harmony, in order to keep sincere pacifists from being drawn into an attitude of obstructionism, in order to uphold at home and abroad the disinterested motives of our Government, and in order to conserve the spirit of world citizenship as a reconstructive force after the war, may it not be well for those individual pacifists who support the administration to emphasize the following points as they have opportunity?

1. *Constructive pacifism* as we understand it is the faith that universal permanent peace is desirable and ultimately feasible, and is worth working and striving and, if necessary, even dying for. By *peace* we mean security, freedom, harmony, and the contentment that is conditioned upon a sense of normal progress. (Because the word *pacifism* is so variously used and so often misunderstood, it might be well to give to constructive pacifism as we have defined it an alternative name: we suggest the name *patriotic internationalism*.)

2. *We believe that constructive pacifism should work for national harmony as well as international peace. Obstructionism is inconsistent with our conception of constructive pacifism. Class war is inconsistent with our conception of constructive pacifism. We believe that a hearty patriotism is an indispensable element in a vigorous internationalism.* We believe that true internationalism rests, not upon a compromise of national loyalties, but upon their union in a new synthesis large enough to fulfill and perfect the profoundly enriching experiences of national life.

3. *We believe that international altruism is the only sound self-interest for a nation. National isolation is inconsistent with our conception of patriotic world citizenship.* We believe that whatever threatens the security and freedom of one nation threatens the security and freedom of all nations.

4. While affirming our adherence to constructive pacifism as we have defined it, *we declare our unqualified support of the administration in its present constructive policy. We believe that for the United States, neutrality in April, 1917, would have been treason to internationalism.** We believe that universal permanent peace cannot be assured until there is an end of autocracy. We believe that the United States is fighting for those principles of internationalism which make for the freedom, security, and progress of all the nations of the earth. We believe that the administration is employing, not only physical methods for achieving military victory, but also moral methods for achieving moral and political victory. We believe that the Stand-

* We desire to point out that "non-resistance" (i. e. "passive resistance" or "non-coercionism") is not neutrality, but would have involved a stand utterly opposed to neutrality and an experiment of the utmost difficulty and danger, such as could be undertaken only by a nation more highly developed and trained than any nation in the world today. Hence, even in the opinion of many of "non-resisters," the theory of non-resistance does not at present enter into the problem of national policy.

ing Challenge put forward by the President in his note to the Pope will hold the International Ideal before the nations and hasten the establishment of a just and durable peace.

5. We believe it to be our immediate task (1) to devote ourselves to conservation and relief work and problems of the reconstruction; (2) to be ready to make ultimate personal sacrifices for the national and international cause; (3) to make clear to European internationalists, and to others at home and abroad, our conviction that the cause of the United States and those nations with which the United States is associated is the cause of democracy, freedom, and ultimate World Peace.

INTERNATIONAL MIND ALCOVES FOR LIBRARIES.

By J. W. HAMILTON.

WHAT might not the world have been spared of horror and misery and future burdens had it grasped the true meaning of the great sentence in which Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler defines the international mind, and if its statesmen had had the courage and prescience to have acted in accordance with its high ideals:

The international mind is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world.

What is past cannot be rectified; therefore, let us look to the future—the future in which the people of every country will have a greater sense of responsibility for the foreign policy of that country and a larger realization that the domestic policy of one nation may greatly affect the foreign policy of another, for it will be increasingly true in the future, with nations as with individuals, that the liberties of one cease where they infringe the rights of others.

Our problem is, what can be done to give life and action to the very thing itself—to all that is meant by “the international mind”; how it can be made to become part of the policy of every manufacturer and shipper, editor and author, and of the men and statemen who make the policy of each nation and guide its destinies, so that each of the former in his dealings with merchants of other nations will look upon them as “co-operating equals in the development of commerce and industry”; that the editorial writers and authors will carry with them the responsibility of not antagonizing similar forces in other nations; and that members of parliament and statesmen in every country will have this great sentence so much in mind that so far as conditions permit they will consider their speeches and discussions with relation to the effect they will have on the deliberating bodies of other nations “who are friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization” and of permitting the happiness and liberty of mankind.

There are many channels through which this great

sentence can be made to have an influence on the world, especially upon the rising generation, which should be the world's best hope, for we know that today thinking men and women in all nations are, next to the great war, giving more serious thought to all that is meant by “The International Mind” than to any other subject, since it would seem that only by the development of this “Mind” of the very thing itself can the world be freed from the curse of war.

Therefore I feel that the following ideas are timely, and that they will appeal:

“INTERNATIONAL MIND” ALCOVES FOR LIBRARIES.—These “Alcoves” (and I quote Dr. Butler's word) would be simply a few shelves set apart in every public library on earth, where would be gathered books and papers and pamphlets on the subject of The International Mind and Internationalism—everything, in fact, which tends to bring nations closer together, each section having a sign in display type, “The International Mind Alcove.” This would arouse attention and create interest, and to this section would be gathered an increasing number of citizens interested in International Good Will, who would become acquainted with each other, and possibly found local societies to help make the thing itself possible.

Dr. Butler says: “Such a plan as you suggest for libraries would be very practical, and doubtless contribute with some speed to the accomplishment of the end which you have in mind. Were such Alcoves established in libraries, both the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment and the American Association for International Conciliation would be only too happy to supply them regularly with material of interest to readers.”

With such high approval and so generous an offer of material, surely every library will give this idea serious consideration.

In these alcoves would be found literature in many languages, with appeals of the best thought of the world to others of the world's best minds. Those who were interested in this great work, who patronized these alcoves and were doing what they could to spread this new gospel, would realize that men and women in every race under heaven were in countless villages, towns, and cities doing the same thing. Surely this would in time arouse a feeling which would make itself felt each succeeding year yet more forcibly.

Universities, colleges, and high schools of the world can well follow this example, and in addition should inculcate the thinking necessary for the formation of the International Mind, so that the thinking men and women of the nations who are so largely trained in those institutions would have their minds moulded in the process.

Then there is newspaperdom, including magazines, with their vast power and influence—a column in the daily papers, and portions in the smaller papers, to have the caption, “The International Mind,” and have copy furnished them by an organization for that purpose. No doubt the organizations mentioned by Dr. Butler could arrange for such service.

“Boiler plate” would be of immense value in distributing information of this nature to every fireside in the world.

The New Hampshire Peace Society has already sent a